

~~REF ID: A~~ No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/06/17 : LOC-HAK-158-3-17-5

① Israel

MA'ARIV ANALYZES U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS

TAD10800 TEL AVIV ~~MA'ARIV~~ IN HEBREW 30 JUN 75 P 5 TA

CHANUKH BARTOV COMMENTARY: "AN INTRULERABLE TUNE"

(TEXT) EVEN WITHOUT KNOWING ALL THE FINE DETAILS OVER WHICH THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND CAIRO--EXACTLY WHERE THE NEW DIVIDING LINE IS TO RUN; WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN REGARD TO THE ELECTRONIC "EYES AND EARS"; WHAT WILL BE THE DURATION OF THE AGREEMENT; WHAT ABOUT SYRIA AND JORDAN; AND SO FORTH--IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT ALL THIS IS NOT THE MAIN ISSUE.

THE MAIN THING IS THE GROWING BREAKDOWN THAT IS GOING ON AS A RESULT OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND WASHINGTON. THIS ENTIRE PROCESS STARTED WHEN ISRAEL'S FRIEND, AMERICA, BEGAN TO ACT AS MEDIATOR, FINDING IN THE PROCESS SUITABLE PATHS LEADING STRAIGHT TO THE HEARTS OF THE ARABS. AT THAT TIME THERE WAS ALREADY ROOM FOR SUSPICION THAT KISSINGER'S MAIN STRENGTH IN EGYPT LAY IN THE IMPRESSION WHICH HE CREATED THERE: THAT HE--AND HE ALONE--CAULD PULL OFF THE SALE OF JOSEPH. ANY OF US DOUBTED THIS, AND MOBILIZED FOR THAT PURPOSE HIS ORTHODOX FATHER--KISSINGER'S PAST AS A REFUGEE OF NAZISM, HIS DECLARATIONS THAT IF THERE SHOULD BE A CONFLICT BETWEEN AMERICA'S INTERESTS AND ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE HE WOULD RESIGN FROM HIS POST.

THE PICTURE LOOKS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT 20 MONTHS LATER. ISRAEL IS STANDING ALONE, WHILE THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT ARE SUPPORTING EGYPT'S POSITION--NOT SECRETLY, BUT IN THE LOUDEST AND ROUGHEST TONES. AT FIRST THIS WAS EXPRESSED IN A SUPPOSEDLY INCIDENTAL DISREGARD OF PROTOCOL RULES--SOMEONE FORGOT TO COME TO THE AIRPORT, GUN SALUTES WERE NOT FIRED, FANFARES REMAINED SILENT, AND INSTEAD OF A CEREMONIAL DINNER THERE WAS A WORKING DINNER.

THEN CAME THE REASSESSMENT, THE PURPOSE OF WHICH IS BY NOW CLEAR ENOUGH, NAMELY TO EXERT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND GIVE MORE TO THE ARABS.

DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS A NUMBER OF THINGS HAVE HAPPENED, ONE AFTER THE OTHER, THAT CANNOT BE SILENTLY IGNORED BECAUSE THEIR EVERY INTENTION IS TO HUMILIATE ISRAEL AND TO PRESENT IT AS A STATE ENTIRELY DEPENDENT UP ON THE PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY OF STATE'S GOOD GRACES.

WHY IS IT UNNECESSARY TO KNOW EXACTLY ALL THE DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO REACH THIS CONCLUSION? BECAUSE ISRAEL'S PRIME MINISTER WANTS AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT AND HAS BASED HIS POLICY ON HIS CONCEPT, WHICH IN HIS OPINION IS THE ONLY REALISTIC CONCEPT AT PRESENT. THE DEFENSE MINISTER ALSO SUPPORTS THIS POLICY FROM A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT AND A LITTLE LESS MAINTAINABLE APPARENTLY TEAMS. No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/06/17 : LOC-HAK-158-3-17-5

IN FAVOR OF THIS POLICY.

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IN THE PAST THE THREE EVENTUALLY REACHED THE OPINION THAT ISRAEL CANNOT ACCEPT THE CONDITIONS AS-SADAT DEMANDED, AND KISSINGER MANEUVERED THINGS IN SUCH A WAY THAT ISRAEL WAS PRESENTED AS BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FAILURE.

3

WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL IT IS CLEAR THAT SINCE THEN ISRAEL HAS MADE FURTHER CONCESSIONS. THERE WAS THE UNILATERAL THINKING OUT OF FORCES. ALL THE TALK ABOUT "NONBELLIGERENCY" HAS BLOWN AWAY AS IF HAD NEVER HAPPENED, WHILE WE SILENTLY SWALLOW EGYPT'S INTERPRETATION THAT ALL WE DEAL WITH IS ANOTHER "MILITARY DISARMAMENT AGREEMENT."

AND NOW AGAIN THE SAME PICTURE PRESENTS ITSELF: ISRAEL PRESENTS A MAP, THE EGYPTIANS MAKE THEIR REMARKS, WASHINGTON STAYS BY EGYPT. AND WHILE THE REASSESSMENT IS GOING ON WE HEAR EVERY DAY ABOUT AN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT WITH THIS OR THAT ARAB STATE, THE SALE OF GROUND-TO-AIR MISSILES TO THAT ARAB STATE, AIRPLANES TO YET ANOTHER, AND SENDING INSTRUCTORS TO TRAIN THE ARMY OF YET ANOTHER.

ADD TO THAT SOME OF THE THINGS WHICH HAVE BEEN SAID DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS, MAINLY THE NEW TONE OF THE AMBASSADOR DESIGNEE, MR. TOON, WHO IS PRESENTED BOTH AS A PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMAT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S FRIEND.

I DO NOT QUITE UNDERSTAND HOW THE THINGS HE SAID HAVE PASSED WITHOUT A GREAT PUBLIC STORM, WITHOUT THE DEMAND THAT HIS CANDIDACY BE RECONSIDERED (HE HAS NOT EVEN PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS YET), SINCE THE MAN SPOKE NOT AS AN AMBASSADOR-DESIGNEE BUT AS A ROMAN PROCONSUL.

HE HAS NO PARTICULAR SENTIMENTS FOR ISRAEL, HE TOLD OUR CORRESPONDENTS IN WASHINGTON, AND HE IS COMING HERE TO REPRESENT AMERICA'S INTERESTS--PERIOD. NOR DOES HE INTEND TO GET FACILITATED BY THE PRESSURE GROUPS IN AMERICA--NAMELY BY THE JEWS. HE IS A PROFESSIONAL, YOU KNOW!

WITH ALL DUE RESPECT TO THE AMBASSADOR-DESIGNEE AND HIS DIRECTNESS, I TAKE THE LIBERTY TO SAY THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE SPOKEN WITH SUCH LACK OF SENSITIVITY HAD HE NOT FELT THAT THIS TONE WAS DESIRABLE TO HIS SUPERIORS THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE. HE WILL NOT BECOME A MESSENGER BOY, HE SAID, AND UNDOUBTEDLY MEANT THAT HE WILL NOT RESEMBLE THE EXCELLENT AMBASSADORS, ISRAEL'S FRIENDS, WHO HAVE SERVED HERE IN THE PAST--FROM MACDONALD TO KEATING.

NEVERTHELESS, I SUSPECT THAT HE IS SOME KIND OF ENVOY FOR HIS SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE 11-MINUTE MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND OUR AMBASSADOR "ARRANGED" BY KISSINGER WILL TESTIFY; THE WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH IS ALSO A KIND OF "REPRIMAND" ACCORDING TO ALL THAT IS CUSTOMARY IN RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVEREIGN STATES, LET ALONE FRIENDLY STATES, IN THE MATTER OF THE MAPS WHICH HAVE BEEN LEAKED OUT, WILL ALSO TESTIFY; AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SWEETNESS OF THE FORD-AS-SADAT MEETING IN SALZBURG AND THE SOURNESS OF THE FORD-RABIN MEETING IN WASHINGTON WILL ALSO TESTIFY THAT SOMEONE--AND IT IS DIFFICULT NOT TO RECOGNIZE OUR BROTHER HENRY'S FINGERPRINTS--IS TRYING TO HUMILIATE THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND SCORE A FEW POINTS WITH THE ARABS.

(MORE)

1 JUL 1972 BY [redacted]

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ONLY ADD SO (BUT TOV ARTICLE)

XXX WITH THE ARABS.

(TEXT) SO FAR THIS IS THE MOST OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT OF THE METHOD OF INTERIM SETTLEMENTS FROM WHICH ONE CAN DEDUCE WHAT IS IN STORE FOR US AFTER WE WITHDRAW, IF, INDEED, WE GIVE IN TO THE 2-WEEK OLD ULTIMATUM.

ONE COULD HAVE EXPECTED THIS DEVELOPMENT. FROM THE MOMENT WE GOT OFF THE HIGHWAY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, PARTICULARLY RESOLUTION NO. 338, AND DELIVERED OURSELVES INTO KISSINGER'S HANDS, WE HAVE BECOME AN INSTRUMENT FOR FURTHERING HIS ARAB POLICY.

IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER WE HAVE MADE ANY PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. HOWEVER, KISSINGER MANAGES TO ESTRANGE AMERICA FROM US AS WELL. ALL ATTEMPTS TO CLAIM THERE IS NO "PRESSURE" AND NO "EROSION", AND THE OUTCRY--FOLLOWING THE 75 SENATORS LETTER--THAT AFTER ALL THOSE PESSIMISTIC JOURNALISTS WERE FINALLY PROVEN FALSE--ALL THIS CANNOT ERASE THE PLAIN FACTS.

NOW A STATE OF CONFRONTATION HAS AGAIN BEEN CREATED. IN THIS SITUATION WE MUST NOT LOSE OUR HEADS AND WE MUST NOT SURRENDER. PARTIAL SURRENDERS WILL LEAD US--PERHAPS AFTER A FEW YEARS--TO THE BORDERS OF THE ROGERS PLAN--WITHOUT THE MAIN COMPONENT: PEACE.

IN THIS SITUATION THE GOVERNMENT MUST SENSE--AND AMERICA OUGHT TO KNOW--THAT NONE OF US WILL SUPPORT ANY SETTLEMENT UNDER CONDITIONS OF AN ULTIMATUM, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF NATIONAL HUMILIATION. AND WHOEVER SENDS A "PROCONSUL" TO JERUSALEM SHOULD KNOW THAT ISRAEL IS ADMITTEDLY SMALL, BUT IS NOT A COLONY, EVEN IF THE SENDER THINKS HE KNOWS BETTER THAN WE WHAT IS GOOD FOR US.

AT THE SAME TIME IT IS NECESSARY TO START AN ALARM CAMPAIGN IN THE UNITED STATES, TO MOBILIZE EVERY FRIEND, EVERY VOICE, IN ORDER TO POINT OUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PARTIAL SURRENDER SYSTEM. WE CANNOT BE FRIGHTENED WITH GENEVA. IT WOULD BE BETTER TO GO TO GENEVA WHILE WE STAND EAST OF THE MITLA PASS THAN FIND OURSELVES WEST OF TULKARM WITHOUT GENEVA.

THERE ARE A GREAT MANY IN ISRAEL, AS THE LATEST PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HAVE SHOWN, WHO ARE PREPARED TO AGREE TO FAR-REACHING COMPROMISES, TO GIVE UP MOST OF THE TERRITORIES, AND YOUR CORRESPONDENT ALSO BELONGS TO THEM. HOWEVER, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT WE SHOULD DO BOTH, GIVE BACK TERRITORIES AS WELL AS PAY FOR THEM.

IF THIS IS WHAT KISSINGER STRIVES FOR, HE SHOULD KNOW THAT ALL OF US, EVEN THE MODERATES AMONG US, ARE UNITED IN OUR DETERMINATION TO FIGHT NOT ONLY FOR OUR EXISTENCE, BUT ALSO FOR OUR NATIONAL HONOR.

THIS TOON AND HIS SUPERIORS DO NOT FRIGHTEN US SO MUCH. WE HAVE GREATER FEARS IN OUR LIVES, AND THEY WILL DICTATE OUR STEPS.

AND KISSINGER? IN THE FINAL RESORT, HE MIGHT MEET AT GENEVA, OR AT HARVARD, OR IN A NUMBER OF YEARS--AT A UJA CONVENTION.

WHAT DID THE JEW WHO WAS GRANTED BRITISH CITIZENSHIP SAY: "THE ONLY THING THAT HURTS ME IS THAT WE LOST INDIA!" HE LOST INDIA!

(ENDALL)

1 JUL 1446Z DS/CAJ

3

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